



THE CRISIS OF TURKISH IDENTITY: ISLAM AND SECULARISM

Türk Kimliği Krizi: İslam ve Laiklik

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ABSTRACT

The Turkish Republic's history witness fights over identity tend to be destabilizing and protracted; this conflict can be traced back to the founding moment of the republic. For modern Turkey's founder, Mustafa Kemal—known universally as Atatürk—to be successful, it was necessary build a mythology around the idea of "Turkishness." This mythology established linkages between Turks, the Turkish language, and the land. As a result, the loyalty of citizens would, in theory, shift from the Ottoman political-religious establishment that ruled over a predominantly Muslim domain, to a nation of Turks and a state whose rulers derived their legitimacy from the defense of Turkishness.

In this study, formation and role of Turkish identity, social and cultural reflections in Turkey were discussed. In particular, the fact that Atatürk acknowledged the West who doesn't regard Turkey as an equal partner in order to reach the level of contemporary civilizations was perceived as unrealistic efforts / reforms by those who focused on Islamic ideas. However, today Atatürk's efforts partly achieved success and Turkey is said to reach contemporary civilizations level. Those who concentrate on Islamic ideas were at the least mistaken.

Keywords: Turkish Identity, Islam and Secularism, Atatürk

ÖZET

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kimlik savaşlarının tarihi, istikrarsız ve uzun süreli olma eğilimindedir. Bu çatışma, cumhuriyetin kuruluşuna dek uzanmaktadır. Bütün dünyada Atatürk olarak bilinen Mustafa Kemal, başarılı olmak için "Türkçülük" fikri etrafında bir mitoloji inşa etmek zorundaydı. Bu mitoloji, Türkler, Türk dili ve Türk toprakları arasındaki bağa dayanmaktadır. Bu, Müslüman bir alana hükmeden Osmanlı siyasi-dini kuruluşundan, bir Türk milletine ve yöneticilerinin meşruiyetini Türklüğün savunmasından alan bir devlete geçiştir. Yeni bir modele geçiş ortaya, Türkiye siyasetinin merkezinde bir kültür çatışmasının ortaya çıkmasına; Türk toplumunda biri laik, biri muhafazakâr olmak üzere iki kutuplu bir toplum oluşmasına neden olmuştur. Bu zıt fikirler arasında Türkiye'nin İslamcılar, kurucu değerlerini baltalamak için çalıştıkları halde, cumhuriyet gerçeğini kabul eden ve savunanlar milliyetçiler olmuştur.

Bu çalışmada Türkiye'de Türk kimliğinin oluşması ve rolü ile bunun sosyal ve kültürel yansımaları ele alınmıştır. Özellikle Atatürk'ün muasır medeniyetler seviyesine erişmek için Türkleri eşit ortak olarak kabul etmeyen Batı'yı örnek alması, İslami düşüncelere ağırlık verenler tarafından gerçek dışı uğraşlar / reformlar biçiminde algılanmıştır. Ancak günümüzde Atatürk'ün çabalarının kısmen de olsa başarıya ulaştığı ve Türkiye'nin muasır medeniyetler seviyesine eriştiği söylenebilir. İslami düşüncelere ağırlık verenler biraz da olsa yanlışlardır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türk Kimliği, İslam ve Laiklik, Atatürk

1. INTRODUCTION

Turkey has adopted Secularism as a principle for it achieves a modern life and it is the corner stone to understand freedom and democracy towards national independence and integrity and to get rid of the heritage Ottoman Empire. So, Turkey decided to extract Islam from the political and social spheres to achieve the sought goal of modernizing the government as well as the society; however, that principle has brought about several problems of which are "the perfectionism system" and "the Turkish identity crisis".

Mustafa Kamal set out to save Turkey from racial and religious scattering especially after the regional losses that the Ottoman Empire was inflicted with, thus he waged the war of independence between

(1919-1922) in an effort to gain the support of the Islamists of both the Suna and the Kurds in the war.

In order to build the new government, Kamal employed nationalism as a tool putting the Turkish citizen as the first priority to make Turkey a racial republic. And after ending the war of independence, he opted for several measures towards modernization so as to initiate modern Turkey which would resemble the European countries, thus he deeply implanted secularism together with a split that did not accept bargain between religion and government to preserve his view about the Turkish republic. This is so, according to his view point, because the modern government connected with the new identity which Kamal has summarized in formal perfectionism ideology which adopted the Turkish idea and established the relationships between the Turkish citizen, the Turkish language and the land on the basis of the Turkish nationalism. As a result, the citizens' loyalty shifted from the Ottoman religious political establishment which ruled societies of Muslim majority to a state of Turks and a state whose rulers got legitimacy from the defending of Turkey.

Mustafa Kamal, the elites of secularists, and the Turkish army all collaborated to make the mission succeed. The Turkish army was granted leave to protect the republic and the perfectionism principles and this model remained for several decades. Perfectionism and the six principles constituted the following: the republic, the takeover attempt, popularism, nationalism, internationalism, and secularism which is the most important and was the ideological basis for the new republic. However, that formation was not met by collective acceptance as a system and legitimate doctrine; that formation was met by opposition especially in the Anatolia district whose trend was Islamic the thing that created a state of contradiction and that is why the Turks faced the question of identity.

The research, besides the abstract and the conclusion, consists of two axes the first presents a historical review about the establishment of the Turkish republic in a historical context and the second deals with the roots of the Islamic-secular conflict in Turkey which created an identity crisis which led to instability.

1.1. The First Axis: The Establishment of the Turkish Republic (Historical Preview)

1.1.1. First: Turkey: From the Ottoman Empire to the National Republic

The Turkish Republic succeeded the Ottoman Empire and Mustafa Kamal adopted the task of building it politically in accordance with totally different principles from what previously prevailed so as to make Turkey a national state resembling the Western style, so he set out to modernize and build the Turkish Nation from top to bottom, one of those interested in the Turkish affairs said "the process of western enlightenment has become a project in the context of Turkish modernization". The reason behind that may go back to the vision of the establisher of the republic towards the society after the collapse of the empire, emphasizing on the necessity of bringing about a radical change to be capable of imposing itself amongst the other European powers. The mission, thus, became changing Turkey to a modern state and part of the international community (Margulies ,Yildizolu ,1998,p.2).

To make this come true, that step was a must to change the nature of the political system, considering the belief of Mustafa Kamal that the Turkish society was a politically, socially, and culturally backward one and was badly in need of a radical change at all levels so as to go along with modernity and urbanism and to catch up with the European countries. He followed up to date measures to make the community parallel to the European one as to the social, educational, and cultural levels which would result in a developed and modern country. This, in turn, would require a connection between the state and the new Turkish identity envisaged and painted in the formal ideology. The notion of perfection of reforms built is based on the idea that continuance of secularism cannot be guaranteed but by eliminating the religious, traditional, and cultural values and the educational system, so that

notion was considered a way to enhance perfection and lessen the effect of Islam on the society (حمزة، 2013، ص43).

The measures followed by Kamal resulted in the ending of Islamic role in the political sphere and created convergence between Turkey and the West. To shape his policy with formality, he announced the constitution in 1924 and avoided the Ottoman culture from sultanate. During the years of his control, he continued to the secular policies and updating the Turkish state in an effort to change Turkey to a certified true copy of the European states in the political and administrative system, costume, language, and all other life styles. He occupied an important role in that and he built the Turkish national identity; to the Turks, he was a national hero and they nicknamed him Ataturk that is (the father of the Turks) (Yilmen, Özcan, 2014, pp.30-31).

So, secularism constituted a central element in the process of building this identities by the political elites and Ataturk, together with his group known as the perfectionists attempted to remove Islam although the majority of the Turkish society professed Islam the thing that initiated a complex and disturbing relationship between the secularists and the Muslims which later made a kind of tension about religion (احمد، 1996، ص18).

1.1.2. Second: Perfection, Islam and National Identity

Perfection refers to the political and ideological principles together with the social and cultural reforms set by Kamal Ataturk in order to come up with a homogenized, secular and central nation from the remains of the Ottoman Empire supported by bureaucracy of the army, the judges and the regime of the one party represented by the Republican People's Party which has a considerable effect on the formation of the Turkish policy attitude and dominating all the establishments of the state for more than 90 years, a period that is known for suppression, tyranny, military coups, and secular extremism that opposes liberty, religion, and the liberty of expressing one's opinion. (Rear, 2014, p.11)

Islam, from the view point of the secularists, constitutes "a threat of the prevailing formal notion of the Turkish national identity as a secular state"; this created fears among the perfectionists of the Islamic current that the latter would eliminate many liberal and modernistic achievements that took place in the Twentieth century (Yilmen, Özcan, 2014, p.31).

Added to that is the saying that perfective secularism has exclude Islam which played a central role in the formation of the character of the identity of Turkish citizen, the new state must have been shaped with a unified style the thing that required finding new Turkish identity summarized in formal perfective ideology which adopted the idea of "nationalism" starting from the well-known saying of Ataturk "How happy is the one who says I am Turk". This is so because Ataturk and his group believe Turkey should, to catch up with the developed world, control religion, so he opted for connecting the Turks with the language and land on the basis of the Turkish nationalism; as a result the loyalty of citizens shifted from the theoretical aspect in the political religious ottoman view which ruled three continents with Muslim majority to a state of Turks whose rulers get legitimacy from defending their countries (الجهماني ، 2000 ، ص29).

Hence emerged the principle of secularism which is the ideological basis of the new republic. This policy, however, created a kind of cultural alienation which later resulted in "identity crisis" among the different groups of the Turkish people especially the middle level one and that made a state of severe conflict between the secularists and the Muslims represented in public pressure to let it practice rituals; faced by that blockade, the religious men were forced to follow secret methods to preserve the Islamic religion using many ways such as armed conflict as done by the sheikh Saeed Beran who expressed his rejection by making a revolution against the modern Turkish government (Lewis, 1961, p.43).

Whereas others favoured political style such as sheikh Said Nursî who adopted an Islamic approach which is still there till this day represented by his followers “Nur movement” which has great influence amongst the religious Turkish men. The activities of religious approaches increased in a clear way and there emerged, as a result, a religious awakening. That was considered an indicator of the disability of the secular regime and failure in penetrating through the basic structure of Islam and uprooting the religious feelings for most of the Turkish people. Despite the insistence of the ruling authority to extract whatever is related to Islam, however the traditions of true Islam soon found a way to prevail in the Turkish society once again. This helped the formation of cultural trends and political ones led the opposition against the policies of secularism and alienation but were not satisfied and demanded a central role in the formation of the political Islamic identity (Lewis,1961,p.43).

In spite of all that the modern Turkish identity was formed via the process of state establishment which started in 1923 in the course of shifting from the Ottoman Empire to the Turkish Republic (as is previously mentioned), so it was necessary to re-define the state and the identity, thus Islam was replaced by new notions such as Turkish, innovation, and moderation besides the approach of the government towards the religious issues and demands which harmonize with probabilities and suppositions that are related to racial democracy. The sudden and vast shift, which was away from religion followed by encompassing strong racial efforts, led to the creation of a contradictory context between the state and the religious groups in the society. Such a change signals the dawn of a new era (Rear, 2014, p.4).

1.1.3. Third: Turkey and the Successors of Ataturk

The principles used by Ataturk continued to oppose Islam and tried to replace the religious identity of the Turkish society with the national identity; the perfectionist viewed Islam as a backward force or a threatening one perhaps that could hinder modernity and the building of the nation as well as the new national identity. They opted for expelling it away from the general sphere and limiting it in personal practices through getting in contact with Turkish secularism and the new national identity which they tried to implant to be a comprehensive sample devoid from any religious impact on the new sample (The Muslim World,1998,p.11).

According to the perfection notion that Turkey is a nation that shares rights politically and socially the thing that required eliminating a heritage of historical roots and a nation of several minorities and considering it in a way of the Turks and are related to the Turkish society. So, the official speech of perfectionism quitted the religious structure, whereas the perfectionists had once and other educated people, before and after World War II , employed Islam in consolidating national commonsense among the Turkish individuals from the practical aspect. By the establishment announcement of the republic and the recommendations of conferences such as (Aridhroom) conference in June 1919 and (Sewas) in July 1919, they were realized as Muslims and constituted a one nation holding all Muslim doctrines from all the layers of the society (Baran,2010,p.23)(46-45 صص،2004،(رضوان).

However, perfectionists, after achieving their goals, denied the role of Islam in building the Turkish national identity considering Islam an ineffective element yet the reality was absolutely the opposite for Islam was more superior to the Turkish national identity even during the peak of perfectionism. Perhaps the clearest picture about the role of Islam in the formation of the Turkish national identity was the vast transactions between the people of Turkey and Greece which was done between (1923-1930) and held about two million people; religion and not race or language was the criterion for distinction between people. The researcher (Brnadr Lewis) commented by saying that “it was not an exchange between the people of Greece and the people of Turkey, but between the Greek orthodox Christians and the Muslim Ottomans” (56-55 صص،2007،(بوزرسلان،(43ص،2005،(رضوان).

From the view point of the perfectionists, the supposed aggression of such a type exists in different societies represented in Islam whereas nationalism “an ideal nation in shape and manner” in a social and political society (Taspinar,2005,pp.3-4).

This was an indicator that there was an aggressive relation between the Turkish nationalism and Islam whereas the latter was more integrated with the national ideology of the government, consequently, there should have been a radical survey of the prevailing notion of the Turkish nationalism as a form of secular nationalism and the relationship between the Turkish national identity and Islam which led to the splitting of the society into two parties the first is racial and the second preserves its traditions; the argument over the Turkish identity became a basic subject of discussion and it was supposed that the secularism was to bring about democracy and political and cultural individualism, which are values that necessarily require the recognition with political, civil, and religious liberties. The principle of party plurality announced in the wake of World War II (1939-1945) has provided the chance to the emergence of an opposition political elite participated in giving way to Islam advocates to join the political current (Margulies, Yildizolu ,1988,p.2).

As a matter of fact, this plurality created convenient environment to express the religious feelings and because of the belief of some Islamic advocates that they can take the initiative again especially if there is a society that denounces alienation seeking recapturing its identity, the circumstances began to change for instance Alnoor group, ordered by the sheikh, supported the democratic party headed by Adnan Menderes when he was in power in the fifties of the 20th century, that helped to make Islam an important element and was suggested to be introduced in the Turkish agenda and paved the way for the emergence political parties adopting Islamic ideas and notions as well as elites of Islamic trends as a result of the vast expansion in Islamic education in Turkey despite all measures taken by secularists to address any actions against the controlling power (Altinkas,2014,p.4).

Because the majority of the graduates of these schools were joining colleges, a considerable expansion happened in the higher education and consequently the number of the university students who had religious trends increased especially in politic sciences and general administration; most of them came from the middle class of the society and thus increasingly joined the state bureaucracy and some joined business. As a result, many of them entered the political process such as secular right-wing parties such as the party of (Mother Country) and (The Right Path). Both have a great deal of importance and Islamic figures including representatives in the Turkish parliament. So it is wrong to consider the political Islamic parties the sole political representative of the Islamic movement. The Islamic advocate and businessmen, however, do not monopolize Islam in the political field if compared with the dominance of the secular elites and continuously doing this in all the parts of the Turkish republic.

So, the Islamic movement was able to prepare itself publicly in the sixties and seventies of the 20th century and could penetrate through the interweaved Turkish society. An example for that is the beginning of the scattering of the authority and the actual return to the Islamic current and its elites gradually began emerging and floating on the surface in the form of a call for cultural and religious tolerance (Altinkas,2014,p.4).

In spite of the deep effect of the secular elite over the national identity and its varieties, the gradual penetration of the new elite which adopts an Islamic trend at the higher ranks in the government, economics, and culture affected not only the state policies but also in expressing the national identity. That group played a major role in the re-consideration of the republican heritage and building an Islamic ottoman identity for from the view point of those elites understanding Islam depends mainly on a fixed collection of values and principles and it is a contextual, relational, and temporal phenomenon that contextually includes the political importance of Islam as a form of the overall shapes identity to be known as Islamic Identity, and it is the same as all other identities which is

flexible, easy, and stationary. It should not necessary be 'competitive' to other identities and thus the Islamic identity can work independently or when providing a framework to negotiate with other identities (Schon,2014,p.4).

From what has already been mentioned, it can be seen that the Islamic identity may consolidate nationalism, however, the Turkish identity is totally away from being homogenous; there is always an argument over it by different active parties. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that "the process of forming the Turkish identity has become a field of competition among many secular powers and Islamic intellectual offices in Turkey" (نور الدين، 1997، ص ص 36-37).

1.1.4. Fourth: The Constant and Changing Elements of the Turkish Political Islamic Current

Although Erdogan has got out of the cloak of the national view parties established by the head of the Islamic political current Erbakan, his stance and trends were not the same as the Erbakani thought. To know more, one has to shed light on their stance towards some basic issues whether internal or external. In the first place there is secularity then democracy, the military establishment, the woman, economics, the European community, and others; Turkey in the last decades has witnessed a process of quick shifting concerning the trends of the political Islamic current. For instance, the political speech during the eightieth of the 20th century was seen aggressive and radical which then led to the creation of an attractive political atmosphere, then there was a strict split between the political parties which later led to ideological differences resulting in a state of unrest and differences in political speeches and there was a shift in doctrine in terms of the vision of the West and the definition of self of the political elites.

The speech of parties introduced many issues in the agenda and put forward new discussions. These have rejected the values which were previously rejected by the various classes of society. The distance between the Western notions such as democracy and secularism was left to be explained later on by Islamic advocates and to find alternatives for those values in Islam and to find a way to harmonize them with democracy. There was the effort exerted to eliminate the image which displays Islam together with politics which is said to be pessimistic; those people created alternative notions and interpretations.

1.2. The Second Axis: Roots of the Secular-Islamic Conflict:

1.2.1. First

The process of initiating a new political entity on the remains of the lands of the Ottoman Empire was a clear challenge to secularism and Islam constituted a threat for the Turkish identity from the view point of the secularists on the basis of Islam and secularism. There are those who understand the project of building a perfect nation as anti-Islamic, whereas the presence of Islam in Turkey is viewed as the main threat to the prevailing formal notion of the Turkish identity. This contradiction between the secular speech and the religious practices in Turkey is an indicator the perfectionism did not aim at ending the role of Islam but planned to control it (ص ص 87-88، 2010، تلجي، Robertson,2007,p.3).

However, this difference made the identity crisis and according to many of those interested in the Turkish affairs there are some people thinking that this interpretation is overestimated concerning the relationship between perfect secularism and Islam. To illustrate that, there should be a survey to the historical stages of the return of the Islamic current once again in Turkey (Altinkas,2014,pp.3-4).

Since the end of the second world war (1939-1945) and what it brought about of consequences which affected in one way or another on the inside of Turkey, secularism was not accepted as was adopted by perfectionists and the one-party policy was no longer convincing for many groups of the society namely the Turkish farmers in all Anatolia who remained holding Islam in spite of the policy of suppression used by the perfectionists. This is really true for there are signs for that as that mosques remained crowded and women continued putting veils on a large scale the thing that required

absorbing public tension, and there was no way but to let the people practice their lives and demand their rights (ورغي، 2010، ص39).

Together with the shift to democracy and the system of party plurality in 1946, the votes of Islamic nominees participated in the victory of the democratic party and as a result the election basis was employed by ordinary people and farmers and it was used as a tool to get and preserve power. Thus the leaders of the republican party saw that it was necessary to make changes to reach at a compromise with the Islamic advocators. So they followed some steps which enabled those to practice their Islamic rituals. However they were not satisfied in that they stopped the principles of the perfectionists and the war circumstances provided the with chances to demand their rights and the parliament elections were really done in 1950 and the republican party, after ruling for more than two decades as on party, faced most of the preservatives and villagers in the Anatolian society and since then Islam became an integral part of the programmes of all middle parties which could in turn depend on financial and election support by those Islamists. (الصالح ، 2012، ص29)(حبيب، 2010، صص154-160).

When the democratic party took control headed by (Menderes) after victory in the elections by the vast majority which is due to the great support he gained from the religious popular groups in all parts of Anatolia his party won once again, that was an indicator to a comprehensive return of Islamists and the democratic party was for those who rejected the perfectionists of them are farmers, owners of small commercial shops, and members of sufi doctrines especially the inhabitants of the surroundings of Anatolia.(السرجاني، 2011، صص34-35) (Bulaç,2015,p.31)

The policies by (Menderes) stirred concerns inside the military and secular offices. The army actually expressed its concerns in 1960 but the reasons behind the coup were not only limited to his tolerance with the Islamists and the demonstrations of masses against his policies concerning the demands of businessmen but, his prohibition of strikes and the restrictions on press and people. (السرجاني، 2011، صص26)(تلجي، 2010، ص93)

That coup represented a turning point in the Turkish policy to be under the command of the army which became a guide of the government to monitor the coincidence of its internal and external policies with the principles of perfectionism which would mean distinguishing between the state interests and the people's interests and this is how the state integrity was established on the people's power.(الصالح ، 2012، صص39-41)(Ince,2012,pp.41-43) At the beginning of the sixties there emerged a new trend via employing Islamic slogans in the election campaigns. The prevailing opinion amongst observers was that Islam was merely a power existing in the Turkish policy. Süleyman Demirel exploited Islam in his speeches so that the party of Justice could win and keep the post of the prime minister, as a result and at the end of the sixties and for the first time there emerged a political movement which witnessed a rooted ideology in the Islamic principles. In 1969, Necmettin Erbakan appeared an because Demirel did accept to list him as a nominee for the party, he nominated himself as an independent representing the city of Konya. (السرجاني، 2011، صص41-47)

As a result, there emerged a new trend in the manner of the Turkish policy together with the appearance of the religious offices which were excluded by the perfectionists since 1923 by regaining their place inside the regime guided by one of the religious men sheikh (Muhammad Zahir Katko, 1897-1980) who played an important role in forming the Islamic parties, the Islamists represented a new sample which replaced the national wind and its original perfectionism sample.(نوفل، 2010، صص53) (Bulaç,2015,p.38)

Under the current new happenings, the seniors of the army leaders expressed their denouncement and made a coup in 1971 which was known as the coup of (**Memorandum**) and justified that intrusion by saying that they want to combat the terrorist gangs, and after two years the Islamic movement commenced its activity and the pronouncement of the establishment of a second party under the label (national safety), which became the political representative of the Islamic movement in Turkey and

this trend headed by Erbakan was known as (the national view) which held a group of ambitious signs to the ottoman past and criticism turned against secularism versus “nationalism”. (Ince,2012, pp.49-52) (الصالح ، 2012، ص ص 79-80)

At the beginning of the eighties Turkey witnessed economic and political crises which required that the army make a third coup in the autumn of 1980. That was not only the demand of the people but also an international one. Some of the external factors woke up the fears of Turkey and the west such as the declaration of the leader of the Iranian revolution (Ayat Allah khumaini) who said expressing his opinion “the Turkish republic constitutes a threat to Islam even greater than the United States”.(Bulaç,2015,p.38)(حبيب ، 2010، ص ص 197-200)

Many secularists expressed their concerns fearing the Iranian experiment and were convinced that the status of Islam became in the forefront of the political leadership and represented a seriously dangerous strategy. This made the Turkish army do so and took control till the end of the parliament elections in 1983 which was a turning point in the Turkish policy. (Altinkas , 2014,pp.9-10)

The aim of the coup was to put an end to a decade of ideological pulling and increased political violence. The military council called for what was named “the Islamic Turkish structure” to merge Islam with the Turkish nationalism and to call for a Turkish Islamic sample positioned around the government via making the society an Islamic one. The leaders of the coup worked to form a new sample of the forms of the Islamic Turkish culture which were intended to unite the society.(حمزة ، 2010، ص ص 14-15)(نوفل ، 2013، ص ص 91-93)

That structure held the formation of a state that considered Islam the essence of culture and social observation and consequently worked hard to consolidate it not only in the educational system but also on the political sphere. Putting Islam in the political sphere by the military leadership since the establishment of the republic aimed at expanding Islam under the leadership of the government. That depended on many considerations of which was addressing the social and political de-construction. Islam seemed the only way to limit communism for instance via the social merging with Islam, therefore, there should have been some central authorial measures of the military system. To achieve that, religious education should be introduced in schools compulsorily.

That structure was seen as an ideological counterpart of the Kurdish movement and encompassing the Islamists and facing the ‘Islamic revolution’. The religious services were privatized and expanded by the government to re-assess the ideology of Islam by the schools of the (Iman) and (Hatip) administrated by the government and which witnessed an increase, for instance in (1983) it was (2160) and increased to reach (4890), and the theological colleges from (8-22) and the number of mosques increased from (57) thousand in (1983) to reach (72) thousand in (1987).(Baran ,2010,pp.35-36)(الصالح ، 2012، ص ص 168-169)

Also, some other political elites had a strategic vision at that time which were represented by (Turgut Özal) which adopted an alternative view of the Turkish nationalism; Özal did not hesitate in using some Quranic verses in his campaigns when he was the prime minister (1983-1991) and president of the republic (1991-1993) and till his death he was an effective tool in forming an elite of politicians on the one hand and to be sure that Islam is an integral part of the Turkish nationalism on the other hand.(تلجي، 2010، ص 94) (Bulaç,2015,p.55)

As a result, the nineties of the 20th century witnessed an identity crisis together with the stage of political distraction and the of parties were forced to form governments with different ideologies the thing that induced military intrusions in the political system and imposing its control to address crises with the political Islamic current and the Kurds in the light of the political and social complexity and racial and ethnical multiplicity.

1.2.2. Second: Increasing Conflict over the Turkish Identity

The period of the eighties of the 20th century the beginning of a new era in the state stance towards Islam due to the increased Islamic current in the society on the one hand and because of the demand to employ Islam to confront the Kurds of Turkey who demand a Kurdish in the south east of the country on the other hand (as is previously mentioned). The Islamic movement one of the most important elements of political and social interaction which reconsidered the basic trends of Ataturk and it offered the new Ottoman idea which overtook Ataturk's most important suggestions "peace inside and peace outside" as well as the idea of "the second republic".(Kinzer , 2008,pp.16-17)(Taspinar,2005,pp.11-12).

As for the interpretations of Ataturk secular reforms, some people found them illogical and the question of opposition was personal piety and one can be an enthusiastic believer in the new republic as long as Islam did not enter in the general sphere of politics, education, media, and arts in any type and the Turks were ready to do that for two reasons the first is the official account which related secularism with advancement and Islam with backwardness and which had consequences on Islamists who faced discrimination in establishments. The second one when the Turkish Islamic movement developed in the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies of the 20th century whose leaders sought to integrate religious principles and ideals with other spheres including politics, education, jobs, and culture. (Kinzer,2008, pp.16-17)(49-40 صص،2010، ورغي)

The Islamic vision was part of their opposition of perfectionism; the efforts of the elite to include the ideal models and the western establishments in Turkey resembled the alien ideas and values which did not coincide with the Islamic society. These notions that compete for the Turkish identity determined to a large extent the criteria of the political speech since the establishment of the republic. (Ince,2012, pp.41-43) (9217ص،2010، تلجي)

It is worth mentioning that the identity, as far as it is inside the heart of the Turkish policy, Turkey is often represented as a state of two societies, the first in secular and the second is Islamic living in a parallel condition and these groups are not clear because most Islamists in Turkey are of the national trend who accept the reality of republic even when they are working on weakening its foundation values and this is vivid by the use of the Islamic republican elites to achieve certain goals of their own. Perhaps the nearest example for that is the way in which the Islamic army was consolidated and which is routinely described in the Western media as strongly secular and Islam is considered part of the national culture. This attempt was the largest in the eighties to get a political control on a society in which violence between the right and the left winged groups killed thousands of Turks before the coup in 1980. (Schon, 2014, pp.12-13)

That is why that step was named as Islamic Turkish structure (as has already been mentioned). And it was really about the identity the thing that encouraged many Islamists to talk about the necessity of the return of the past of Turkey and its values and establishments with the Islamic world which supports the Islamists in terms of history, culture, and geography for they are convinced that Turkey is not related to the west, and it should be supported to balance the power and pressures the international trend. The Islamists, publicly, opposed that and expressed their opinion of the perfectionism. (Rabasa, Larrabee,2008, pp.50-52).

That resulted in deep argument over power and some considered that a long-term battle between Islam and secular perfectionism. In return, some others explained that by saying that it is the traditional conflict of Anatolia against modern Istanbul and equality against economic elite or the ascend of democracy against power. At last, the argument shifted to one notion which was power and how Anatolia, which is of an Islamic trend, appeared to object the secular basis of the modern Turkish state. Whereas the one who look at Turkey from the outside often is unaware of the internal disturbances inside it; for the internal conflict over power effects on every step by Turkey in its

embassies, schools, courts, news agencies, the military bases, and even conference halls. (Migdaloviz,2012,pp.1-2)

Naturally, that argument could be brought about once again in Turkey to the moment of the establishment of the republic. And also concerning the orientations of the founder of modern Turkey to achieve success in his policy in an effort to build legends about the idea of 'nationalism', so he established relations between the Turks, the Turkish language, and the land, thus their loyalty was represented in the founder of the Turkish republic.

The Islamic movement re-arranged itself once again under the command of Necmettin Erbakan and what helped was the inability of the secular parties to ensure the country stability which provided a chance for the (Rafah) party to be in power in June 1996. The party lasted only "a short spring" in power between (1996-1997), when the intrusion of the national security council of the government of Erbakan made a coup which was called 'after modernity' which aimed at preventing the Islamists from dominating on the state and re-gained secularism after the 28th of February (حبيب ، 2010، ص ص 181-17). (رضوان ، 2005 ، ص ص 46-45)

However, the Islamists re-expressed themselves demanding their rights of existence, the thing that paved the way for innovation and more advance together with their ability to gain the confidence of important groups of nominees, which resulted in peak victory of the Justice and development party in 2002 and seized power alone after years of the control of the collective governments, economic and political crises, corruption, and scandals.

So, the Islamists paid considerable interest to Islam within the national identity considering it an important element in the social and political sphere from the abstract aspect. Whereas, perfectionists insisted on that Islam should have a role in the formation of that identity. The most important issue for these people was emphasizing the national identity and not on Islam. So, Islam should not be said to be affective on the people or the individual. (الصالح ، 2017، ص ص 45-44)

To sum up, it can be said that the criticism against secularists has accelerated the process of understanding in a clearer way the notion of perfectionism for it is natural to interpret and understand social phenomena much better after some period of time. For instance, the changes that happened in Europe during renaissance were understood more clearly as time passes. Here remains the question: Is Turkey secular or Islamic?

2. CONCLUSION

After ending the research the following points have been reached at:

- ✓ Ataturk opted for changing the Ottoman Empire into the Turkish Republic by eliminating the role of Islam when he ended the Ottoman Caliphate which was the centre of the religious and political power of the Muslims. And it was, from the point of view of his supporters, a bold step; however, it failed to move to the complete cultural transformation of the social and religious traditions. At the time when Islam was limited to personal practices, the Turkish people strongly kept seizing it and that resulted into an open conflict between perfectionism and Islam.
- ✓ After the establishment of the republic of Turkey as a secular state with a central doctrine, many reforms whether political, social, and cultural took place which gave a chance for the creation of a national state which participated in the formation of the Turkish identity.
- ✓ Turkey underwent awful changes, however the roots of Islam remained deep inside the Turkish life and culture, and the identity of the Muslims of Turkey the strongest at all. Inside Turkey, there emerged a political society that is characterized by religious characteristics,

therefore Islam is the central element which that is associated with this fact and it has been recognized in the last decades in an increasing way in Turkey.

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